592 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 [162] persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the [592] rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556b joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

612 To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
● [162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 621 166 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth

Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949, 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 166 621 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents, were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per cent) were born outside Goa Province.

162 166 612 621 The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group. The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa	
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2	
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20	
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8	
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30	

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found 162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many 166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than 612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born 621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was 844

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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5. 9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	2
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5. 56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6. 1		

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 732 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J. C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./ 589 [587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
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2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
● [162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

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/204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

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We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
361 The road took me across great mountains. I could see endless curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
●162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
[292] I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses: 1.	51
2.	4.6	2.	13
3.	5.2	3.	49
Total	5.1		113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

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TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (cont'd)

	1	2	3	Total
Manufacturing worker	-	1	1	2
Cycle repairer	-	1	1	2
Fish seller	1	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	1
Atap roofer	-	-	1	1
Weaver	-	-	1	1
Coachman	-	-	1	1
Dyer	-	-	1	1
Kalker [i.e., chalkers--Analyst]	-	-	1	1
Not given	7	1	4	12
Total	51	13	49	113 [sic]

[565]

TITLE DAENG

	Daeng	Not Daeng	Total
1.	54	233	287 (20%)
2.	-	60	60 (0%)
3.	21	234	255 (9%)
Total	75	527	602 (12%)

Of Goldsmiths, Daeng are:

	Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	34	24
2.	1	-
3.	2	1
Total	37	25 (70%)

	Non-Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	17	3
2.	12	-
3.	47	13
Total	76	16 (21%)

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I left for Bone on Monday, September 5, 1949. However, I had to stay at Pampanua for one night as there was no room in Watampone. It is a small place with a large alunalun. There is a big market here which is held five days a week. It is also the place where the radjas of Bone, Wadjo and Soppeng meet for conferences. In addition it is the place where the assistant resident used to stay. I got the idea as I walked in the evening that this place shows mostly still life. I noticed mainly men walking and standing in the stores. The next day I went to Bone, where I had a conference with Andi. There was nothing to do until the next day.

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading?. My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

●162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198; category 116--Analyst]
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STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
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Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

D. Women Living Alone

Noble	Commoner	Arab	Children	Others in House	Trade
2			3	11	2 tailor
		1	1	2	nil
	1			3	"
1			3	2	"
		1	2		"
	1		1		"
1			5	2	"
1			2	3	"
	1		2	4	"
1			1		potter
	1		2		nil
	1		4		"
Totals 6	5	2	26	27	

Total number of women living alone: 13.

Andi says most of them work at weaving, sewing, and other home trades. Some have sawah and let them out to share-croppers.

E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Chief	1						1
Subchief		2	x1				3
Merchant	1	1		6		6	14
Tailor	5	5		1			11
Farmer	15	91					106
Cycle repairman		1				1	2
Shoemaker		1				1	2
Restauranteur						1	1
Government employee	3	14					17
Small trader	4	10		2			16
Watchmaker		1					1
Bus worker		3					3
Semi-skilled		1			1		2
Peddler	2	13			2		17
Poolroom				1			1
Coolie		9			1		10
Teacher	1	2					3
Police	2	2					4
Kampong judge	1						1
Toothmaker	1					1	2
Chauffeur	3	10		1			14

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E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes (cont.)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Tota.
No occupation (all except 1 are women)	2	8		2			12
Bus owner	1						1
Laundryman		2					2
Goldsmith	1	2					3
Priest	1	1					2
Mosque officer		1					1
Storeclerk		2					2
Smith		1		1		1	3
Baker		1					1
Domestic servant		2					2
Barber		3					3
Tinsmith		1					1
Mason (stone)		1					1
Bikeshawman	1						1
Pensioner (soldier)		1					1
Potter	1						1
Carpenter		1					1
Hatter		1					1
Total							270

F. Combining Above

Farmer	106	Priest	2
Government employee	17	Store clerk	2
Peddler	17	Domestic servant	2
Small trader	16	Chief	1
Chauffeur	14	Restauranteur	1
Merchant	14	Poolroom owner	1
Tailor	11	Kampong judge	1
Coolie	10	Bus owner	1
Police	4	Mosque officer	1
Subchief	3	Baker	1
Bus worker	3	Tinsmith	1
Teacher	3	Stone mason	1
Goldsmith	3	Bikeshawman	1
Smith	3	Pensioner	1
Barber	3	Potter	1
Cycle repairer	2	Carpenter	1
		Hatter	1

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F. Combining Above (cont.)

Shoemaker	2	Watch repairman	1
Semi-skilled	2	No occupation	12
Toothmaker	2		
Laundryman	2		

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G. Final Combining of Trade and Class (Household Heads)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	15	91	-	-	-	-	106
Trader	7	23	-	2	2	-	34
Skilled	8	19	-	2	1	3	33
Government	6	18	-	-	-	-	24
Merchant	2	1	-	7	-	7	17
Laborer	-	15	-	-	2	-	17
Chauffeur	3	10	-	1	-	-	14
Kampong officer	3	4	1	-	-	-	8
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
None	2	9	-	2	-	-	13
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

H. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	33	47	-	-	-	-	39
Trader	15	12	-	14**	40	-	13
Skilled	17	10	-	14**	20	30	12
Government	13	9	-	-	-	-	9
Merchant	4	1*	-	50	-	70	6
Laborer	-	8	-	-	40	-	6
Chauffeur	7	5	-	7	-	-	5
Kampong officer	7	2	(100)	-	-	-	3
Clerk	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
None	4	5	-	14**	-	-	5
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1 per cent

** Slightly more than 14 per cent.

I. Size of Household and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
15-19	4	2	-	1	-	-	7
10-14	11	31	-	6	-	2	50
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

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J. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	4	-	-	7	-	-	1
15-19	8	1	-	7	-	-	2
10-14	24	16	-	43	-	20	19
9 or less	64	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

K. Final Combining of Size of Household and Class

10 or more	17	33	0	8	0	2	60
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210
Percentages of Above							
10 or more	37	17	0	57	0	20	22
9 or less	63	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Then I tried to compare the three kampongs, Balombaru in the Makassarese area, Marante in the north, and Bukaka here. Much of the data, however, is not comparable.

L. Comparison of the Three Villages:

	Population	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Per House
Balombaru	602	297	305	98	5.3
Marante	1262	628	634	99	5.1
Bukaka	1960	959	1001	96	7.3

	Child to Adult	Minor Child to Adult	Child to House	Minor Child to House
Balombaru	1.14	-	2.8	-
Marante	1.02	0.59	2.59	1.70
Bukaka	1.25	0.68	4.02	3.34

Main Trades

Balombaru	Craftsman, trader, farmer.
Marante	Farmer, village officer (and nothing else)
Bukaka	Farmer, trader, craftsman, government employee, merchant, laborer, chauffeur.

In the foregoing sections and the above comparison, the Buginese kampong can be seen to have a much wider range and more variety, in regard to occupation especially. Bukaka, however, is very close to a large town. Balombaru, the Makassarese kampong, is much farther from the city, and in addition is a kind of center for goldsmiths. It is a craftsmen's town par excellence. The Sadang kampong is what it looks like, purely agricultural.

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Sadang: I had a long talk with the Controleur (Meendersma) of Mamasa, who had been also in Mamudju and Masamba. Thus he is acquainted with Mamasa, Mamudju, Rongkong, Seko, Seko Pada, and Galumpang. He said there are two Seko

000 style of 200 years ago. This must be an amazing place and I should go there some time.

I got the final data except for the class of the kampong officials on Balombaru, and the reckoned statistics are as follows:

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A. Balombaru

	Balom-baru	Bonto-tangnga	Sappa-bulo	Kalu-kuang	Balom-baru Utara	Total
Males	145	32	120	132	134	563
Females	142	28	132	157	127	586
Totals	287	60	252	289	261	1,149
Sex ratio	102.1	114.3	90.9	84.1	105.5	96.1
Houses	51	13	49	60	48	221
Per house	5.6	4.6	5.1	4.8	5.4	5.2
All children	157	27	150	140	134	608
Children per adult	1.21	0.82	1.47	0.94	1.06	1.12
Children per house	3.08	2.07	3.06	2.33	2.79	2.73
Children under 15	73	23	93	108	105	402
Children under 15 per adult	0.34	0.62	0.58	0.60	0.67	0.54
Children under 15 per house	1.43	1.76	1.90	1.80	2.19	1.82
Nobles	160	13	79	64	32	348
Commoners	110	37	173	205	181	706
Slaves	17	7	0	13	2	39
Javanese	0	3	0	7	0	10
Chinese	0	0	0	0	45	45
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1	1

B. Percentage of Population by Class [The numbers underlined appeared thus in the original notes--Analyst]

Nobles	56	22	31	22	12	30
Commoners	38	61	69	71	69	61
Slaves	6	12	0	5	1	3
Javanese	0	5	0	2	0	1
Chinese	0	0	0	0	17	4
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1*	1*
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1 per cent.

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

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D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampong. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man
W - Woman
N - Noble
C - Commoner
S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 ● 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors 162

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14